FELLOWSHIP

July 1947 Vol. XIII—No. 7

Leon Arnold Muller

The President's Commission Reports

Steamer Letter

A. J. MUSTE

Children Up a Tree

MARGUERITTE HARMON BRO

Blessing the Animals

SARAH CLEGHORN

"But-" Said the Newest Cherub

ALFRED HASSLER

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FROM MY STANDPOINT

John Haynes Holmes

I

THE IRONY, THE SHEER RIDICULOUSNESS, of the present international situation is matched only by its grim and ghastly tragedy. Two great empires, Russia and America, are moving step by step into a war which will end them both and with them the civilization they dominate. Yet neither nation wants war, or will gain from war anything to counterbalance by the fraction of a millionth part what they will inevitably lose in final disaster. Any occasion of war between these two powers can only suggest the bloody wars fought by the Lilliputians, in Swift's *Gulliver's Travels*, over the tremendous issue of breaking eggs at the larger or the smaller end.

Any matching of consequences in a Russo-American war would dictate, in the name of common sense, a policy on both sides of peace at any price. For the heaviest price paid for even the worst peace would be light as swan's down when set over against the price of another war.

Yet we are moving surely if not swiftly into war!

II

The explanation of this ironic circumstance takes us right out of the fields of economics and politics, and into the field of psychology.

Karl Marx to the contrary notwithstanding, there is nothing in economic conditions today which makes war between Russia and America either necessary or desirable. Every economic interest makes for peace. If the Russians think that economic determinism dictates war with capitalistic America, that's psychology at work and not economics at all.

In the same way, there is no political entanglement today which creates a hostile impasse between the Soviets and the United States. Every political difficulty may be made to yield to statesmanship. If we Americans think that we have got to fight communist Russia sooner or later, and sooner rather than later, we are the victims not of intractable politics but of bad psychology.

In both these cases, we have mental states to deal with. Russians can find economic excuses for going to war if they want to. Americans can invent political justifications if they so choose. But the real force at work is the mind. Not outward conditions at all, but inward feelings are hatching mischief.

What makes a third world war so immediate a menace is that Russians and Americans alike distrust and fear one another. Each is on his guard against the other, and therefore ready to strike—and sure to strike when he anticipates that the other is about to strike first. There would seem to be little reason for this distrust and fear. Russia's economic system may stand at opposite poles from ours, but it is sheer dogmatism to declare that these systems must come into conflict. America may be feeling the urge and indulging the expanse of empire, but not in a hundred years would her interests clash anywhere with those of the Soviets. Yet trouble brews, and preparations for war secretly or openly go on!

What is at work, of course, is first of all the backwash of the late war, which engulfs allies as well as foes. Hatred released into the world to defeat our enemies comes back a thousandfold to confound ourselves. Then there is the continuing influence of power politics—a foul tradition which prevails not only in chancelleries but in human hearts, to betray our fairest dreams and truest ideals. But what is most important in this grievous situation is sheer suspicion—that innate tendency to think the worst rather than the best of our fellow men. Not until suspicion was displaced by confidence in individual relationships was peace possible in small communities. Not until suspicion is displaced by confidence in national relationships will peace be possible in the larger community of humankind. One world will come when there is one mind to think and one heart to love.

III

So, I repeat, it is a state of mind with which we have to deal in this hour of crisis. It is psychology and not sociology that frames our problem. And it is here that pacifism gives answer to this problem! For pacifism is a spiritual force. It deals primarily with the motives and impulses of men's lives. Its business is to open the mind and change the heart—to deliver men from the bondage of evil thoughts and blind superstitions into the blessed freedom of good will. To be a pacifist is to banish hate and fear, to refuse to live with these passions as one refuses to live with disorder and dirt. It is to discipline oneself to trust, as one disciplines oneself to cleanliness and courtesy. This is to create an atmosphere in which hostility cannot survive, as disease germs cannot survive in sunlight. It is to plant a soil in which war cannot grow, but only peace. The ancient Greeks had the legend of Cadmus who sowed the teeth of dragons, and reaped the harvest of armed men. The pacifist sows the smiles of little children, and reaps the harvest of the laughter of friendly men.

Pacifism, therefore, penetrates to the very heart of our dilemma. It has the one line of sure approach to the goal of peace. In countries far scattered through the world today there are groups of men and women who have found peace, because they trust their neighbors. Let these groups multiply and rule the nations, and the world will find peace in the sudden advent of love one for another in all places of the earth.

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FELLOWSHIP

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Subheads

In God We Trust

"I presume that all of you gentlemen finish your day with the Lord's Prayer as I do, but even then my thoughts involve ship tonnage and transportation. . . ."

—Gen. Marshall, before Senate Military Affairs Committee, Oct. 14, 1942.

Report

The President's Advisory Commission on Universal Military Training, composed principally of persons who previously had urged the adoption of peacetime conscription, labored long and came forth with the conclusion that its members had been right all along. Considering the circumstances, most people were able to contain their astonishment.

Simultaneously, the Commission revealed with unintentional but pitiless logic the complete bankruptcy of the intellectual, social and political values by which it is enslaved and to which our whole national structure adheres. It spoke in paradoxes, using empty symbols out of an irrelevant past. It spoke of weapons against which there is no defense and of how to defend against them; of saving chaos from complete disaster; of embracing totalitarianism in order to preserve freedom; and of accepting economic thralldom and impoverishment in order to retain a high standard of living.

As not even the warnings of the atomic scientists have done, the President's Commission posed the dilemma of America with unmistakable clarity. The goal toward which it urged America to work is an ability to retaliate and "avert complete disaster" after a hypothetical atomic and germ attack had destroyed our cities, smashed our means of transportation and communication, and slaughtered millions of our people. It defined "averting complete disaster" as the visitation of similar demonic destruction on the similarly helpless citizens of the "enemy's" largest cities, or even, by anticipating attack before it comes, as launching the first blow. (It adds merely another cipher to the incredible total of moral degeneration to which such thinking bears evidence, to note that two of the nine members of the Commission are Christian clergymen.)

To achieve this admirable ability to be the most accomplished murderers in history, America has only to pawn its liberties, its wealth, and its every peacetime activity. The Commission admitted that it looked on the "staggering" cost of its program with "horror," but it could see no other way out.

Well, there is no other way out if you begin with the Commission's assumptions of utter pusillanimity and completely unscrupulous greed as the dominant human traits of character. The only way out begins with diametrically different assumptions.

One such assumption is that the material possessions do not exist that are worth the burning of human bodies with fire, or their disorganization by radioactive impulses, or their ravishment by deliberate disease.

Another—which once was not merely Christian but part of a code of gallantry to which more worldly men subscribed—is that it is far better for a man to die than to save his life by torturing and slaying the weak and helpless.

There is really only one alternative to the Commission's total program. It is that we throw away our guns and atom bombs, destroy our satanic experiments in germ warfare, repent, and begin at once the process of international reconciliation by feeding the hungry, sheltering the homeless, and spreading the benefits of democracy and modern industrial production without regard to nationality, politics, or profits.

National Defense—Hollow Shell Division

"Our military forces are a hollow shell. . . ."

— Report of the UMT Advisory Commission.

The United States Navy is the largest and most powerful in the world, exceeding in strength all other navies combined.

The United States Army has a strength of 1,600,000 men, with reserves of about 11,000,000. The yearly compensation of *officers* in the Army and Navy exceeds a billion dollars.

The United States Air Force is the largest and most powerful in the world.

The United States is the only possessor of the atom bomb, and has a large and growing supply of bombs.

Proposal

The Army and Navy are subsidizing all sorts of educational and research projects these days against the possibility of another war: training scientists and technicians to operate the complicated weapons of the Age of Rampant Sadism, binding the consciences of already established scientists with the caressing chains of unlimited finances for free research, and otherwise caging in advance for war the discoveries of the future.

We have a proposal for some further subsidizing by the government. We suggest a modest sum—perhaps fifty million or so a year—to be turned over to the peace movement for the training of peace workers and research in the ways of peace. After all, peace might break out without warning and find the country completely unprepared!

Feeding the Hand that Bites Them

A poll of 2,498 Germans in the British zone is reported to have chosen Winston Churchill as the world's most popular man, with Stalin, Pope Pius, and Truman following in that order.

Curious Coincidence

The New Jersey Telephone Company, reveals McAlister Coleman in *The Call,* has quoted an operating loss of $700,000 last year in seeking rate increases. During the same period the company's advertising expenses—which serve the function of quieting restive editorial writers and commentators—amounted to $730,000.

Religious Pacifists

Right after the Japanese Constitution Day, leaders of the Japanese Christians, Buddhists, and Shintoists met for three days to map out ways in which they could "promote peace through religion," and put into effect the constitutional renunciation of war, with which they said they were in "hearty accord." Protestants, Catholics, and Jews in America, please copy!

Noisy Minority

There are some pacifists who have loftily declined to "write, wire or phone" their Congressmen when such issues as conscription arise, maintaining from various philosophical bastions the argument that such activity is ineffectual. For their sakes, we refer to a syndicated column by Ernest Lindley that appeared in the *Brooklyn Eagle,* June 5.

Mr. Lindley, who shows a strong partiality for UMT himself, discusses the reasons for Congressional failure to adopt conscription even though most public opinion polls "for several years . . . have indicated that a substantial majority of the American people favor (it)."

"Why then," asks Mr. Lindley rhetorically, "has Congress failed to act?" and promptly answers: "One reason is that the minority against universal training has been noisier than the majority for it. A number of Congressmen who favor universal training have reported that whenever the subject has been brought to public attention their mail has run heavily and intensely in opposition."

In that connection, the mail recently is reported to have been running just the reverse, as a result of a concentrated, large-scale, doorbell-ringing campaign by the American Legion.

Our Sensible Youth

"We have some gin and vermouth," Mrs. Page said in a worried tone.

"Do we have any olives?" asked Alex.

His mother looked at him with respect. That struck her as a remarkably sensible question for a fifteen-year-old boy to ask.

—From a story in *The New Yorker,* April 5, 1947.

Nostalgic

There is a new jive-song called "Necessity," whose second line refers to "necessity" as an "unnecessary thing." It was not published originally in the *Christian Century.*

Straws in a Foolish Wind

The civil war in Paraguay was called off for a few days because of rain.

* * *

Fifty tons of "surplus" potatoes were purchased by the Government in one county of Alabama alone, dumped, and covered with kerosene to make them unfit for consumption. This was not done, of course, until all hunger in this country as well as abroad had been eliminated.

* * *

In the Asheville, N. C., courthouse different Bibles are used for swearing Negro and white witnesses.

* * *

The Army and Navy are experimenting with a non-explosive atomic cloud which can be laid in series, each a mile square, to blanket a huge area. It would not kill suddenly, according to testimony before a Senate Committee, but would sweep with lingering death and corrosion over huge areas.

* * *

One of the items being preserved for 6,000 years in Oglethorpe University's "Crypt of Civilization" is the book *Salary Guide,* listing the annual incomes of 15,000 business executives.

* * * *

A survey has shown that four out of five of the country's leading non-sectarian liberal arts colleges ask questions concerning an applicant's race, religion, or national ancestry.

* * * *

American families in Germany now are limited to one free maid each, by virtue of a recent Army order. "Free" maids are paid for by the German people.

* * * *

A New York department store is advertising the "new Botticelli mouth," a lipstick.

* * * *

Princess Elizabeth had her allowance raised to $60,000 annually on her 21st birthday in April. No talk of nationalizing her, either.

Steamer Letter

By A. J. MUSTE

THESE WORDS ARE BEING WRITTEN on the eve of sailing for Europe. It will be my first visit to that continent since 1936. It was late in July of that year in the Church of St. Sulpice in Paris that I had the religious experience which brought me back to the Christian pacifist faith and led me a few weeks later to sever my connections with the Trotzkyist movement and to rejoin the FOR.

Though the experience itself came without warning and transplanted me in an instant from one spiritual world, so to speak, into another, I am sure that one of the things that had prepared me for it was the realization that was deepened in me with every day of my stay in Europe and in every city that, failing a miracle, World War II would certainly break in a few years. I go back to Europe now even more certain that—failing a miracle—World War III will break in a few years. Chronologically we may indeed be further from war than we were in 1936, but politically and spiritually speaking, we are actually nearer now to World War III than we then were to its precursor. Not even in 1939 were responsible spokesmen of the U. S. Government talking in such overtly hostile terms of the German or Japanese regimes as they have recently—as in the Truman Doctrine speech and the Report of the President's Commission on Universal (Military) Training—spoken of the Russian regime. On the highest authority, the actual decisions in American foreign policy today are made on the assumption that war with Russia is inevitable. The Report of the UMT Commission is an almost hysterical summons to immediate preparation for total atomic war.

Home to Non-violence and God

Despite the fact that I had come to see so clearly that war was all but inevitable, I was not depressed as I returned to the United States in August of 1936. Partly that was because in coming back to faith in the way of non-violence and love I had returned to the true center of my own being, to God. Thus there was again peace within, whatever might happen outside. In a sense, what I might be able to do no longer mattered very much. I no longer needed to be anxious and preoccupied with the results of this campaign or that, since I was sure of the ultimate nature of the universe and realized that "the everlasting God, the Lord, the creator of the ends of the earth fainteth not, neither is weary." Paradoxically, however, I was able to go to work again with new enthusiasm and assurance, knowing that if there were a way to prevent war it was in a total pacifism, the actual practice of Jesus' way of life, and that I was no longer engaged in practising one of those many clever devices by which the world thinks it can get Satan to cast out Satan.

I am not depressed now as I leave for a Europe still largely buried under the debris of one war and already covered by the shadow of a ghastlier one. The chief reason is that recently I have had my faith in the pacifist way of life confirmed again. That took place in a four-day Retreat-Conference at Pendle Hill May 20-23, and in which such people as Allan Hunter, Robert L. Calhoun, Milton Mayer, Douglas Steere, John Oliver Nelson, Harold Chance, Ray Newton, M. R. Zigler and half a dozen others took part; and again in our own FOR National Staff and Council meetings during the last week of May.

Not True to Our Insights

The first effect of genuine spiritual experience is always a sense of human unworthiness and of the need to "become as little children," willing to be led by God rather than dictating to him. The Pendle Hill group said: "We must confess that to an important degree our present condition—individual and corporate—is due to the fact that we have not been true to such insights as we already have." And also, "We recognize that as individuals and groups, or 'cells,' we must open ourselves as never before to the leading of God, not for the furtherance of our individual or group objectives as such, but in order that we may learn his will and find power to do that."

Both at Pendle Hill and in our own Council sessions there was renewed recognition that the heart of our movement must be in peace teams or pacifist cells with a threefold program of worship, study and action—action primarily in the local situation rather than in passing resolutions and writing postcards about national and international issues.

What we are determines what we can do. The great malady of our time is despair. Almost nobody believes any more that war can be prevented. Almost nobody has "the little faith" which, if he had it, "would say to this mountain, Be ye rooted up and cast into the sea, and it would be done." Nobody, after what we have seen human beings to be capable of, can believe until he himself has experienced a revolution that the world can be revolutionized. "The Kingdom of God"—the revolution—"is here," said Jesus. "Repent and believe the good news." Submit yourself to a revolution, in other words, and you will again be able to believe that something really can happen to the world.

But there you have the paradox again. Let something divinely revolutionary happen in a man as in the early Christians, in St. Francis, and George Fox, and the world is likely to get turned upside down, too! The God of Jewish-Christian prophetic faith is in the process of history. Not only individuals but nations and governments are called to do his will. "The kingdoms of this world shall become the kingdoms of our Lord and of his Christ."

Parenthetically, Walter Muelder in the June issue

of FELLOWSHIP made an important comment on that article of Felix Greene's in the May issue which deservedly aroused so much interest. Let me add two remarks. In the first place, I think Felix is dead wrong about Jesus' "passivism." Truly he renounced violence and demanded the revolution in the heart. But he would not have been crucified for that, if he had been "passive" about the ecclesiastical hierarchy of his day and its narrow Sabbatarianism, and about people who "devour widows' houses" and make long prayers in public, and if he had paid taxes and if he had not cleansed the Temple and made that entry into Jerusalem as King—albeit a new kind of king—of the Jews. It really is not possible to be for something in this world without being against something else.

With Both Feet

Secondly, all of us in the pacifist movement who engage in so-called political activity should indeed take what Felix Greene has said deeply to heart. But I hope Felix will understand that we too strive to act in obedience to the Spirit's leading and will not read us out of the "true church." In his article he observed: "Whenever there is a conflict of opposites the solution lies in neither of them, but is to be found altogether outside the terms of the conflict itself." Perhaps that counsel is applicable to the "conflict" between the pacifist and the passivist. Allan Hunter wrote to me after Pendle Hill: "What strikes me harder and harder these days is the thought that the drive will be given to the degree that we offer ourselves and that we can start with either the right foot of social action or the left foot of contemplation but that it's no good hopping on either one."

For myself and for many others, I know there is, along with a more intense feeling of the need to pray and to commune with God, also a greater urge to proclaim repentance to the nation and to call upon it to substitute for the total war to which it is now committed a total pacifism. In a sense the President's Commission has done us a favor in calling so clearly and loudly for immediate total preparation for atomic war. It is perfectly right in contending that if we are going to depend on military means we have to go the limit. Let us be wise enough to see as clearly and to proclaim as vigorously that if we want peace now we can have it only at the price of total pacifism, of actually behaving like a Christian nation.

I do not think we should refrain from the effort to win the nation to this course. It is true, as Richard Gregg suggests, that if doom were not to overtake this civilization for its sins, that would prove there was no moral law and no God. But I do not see how a pacifist can possibly take that in a mechanistic or absolute sense. The prophets were constantly pronouncing doom upon God's people and in the very same breath saying, "Repent, for the Kingdom of God is at hand." That I think is the divine message to the individual and to society: no salvation save at the fearful cost of repentance, but with repentance, forgiveness and undreamed-of possibilities. I venture the suggestion that in this connection we should bring the issue of conscience with respect to war much more directly than we have been doing to workers in munitions and other war plants, to men in the armed forces, and to the thousands who will be in training in the schools and universities even if UMT is not adopted.

As for the churches which name the name of Christ, let me set forth the challenge which confronts them in the words of Howard Spring—a non-pacifist English novelist and journalist—in his autobiographical *And Another Thing:*[1] "Whether Christendom cares to face the fact or not, Jesus was a pacifist and would have had no part or lot in this bloody shambles which besets us. . . . I see no logic in an attitude which on the one hand insists that Jesus was . . . 'very God of very God,' whose word was literally the voice of God speaking in the world, and on the other tells us that a follower of this omnipotent and omniscient and allwise God may with a clear conscience act in flat contradiction to God's teaching on a vital matter."

The Churches would lose members if they followed Jesus' teaching about war "but we should then know who were Christians and who were not. The Church would discover that its first function was not to enlarge but to purify its membership, for the cause of true religion is advanced not by churches becoming full of men but by men becoming full of God.

"The Church lasted a long time; and it can continue to last on a condition; and that condition I suggest, is that no matter what the odds against it, the 'survival value' of a complete acceptance of the teaching of Jesus should continuously be put to proof as the story of mankind unrolls. . . . The man who would follow him, said Jesus, must 'take up his own cross.' The Cross is still upon the hill, and our 'lesser calvaries' avail. These, too, have 'survival value.'

"It becomes increasingly difficult for an effective 'opposition' to be staged to any State activity in the modern world. For the churches to stage one against the Moloch of our supreme and suicidal devotion would be to court almost certain extinction. But what a death! 'For whether we live, we live unto the Lord; or whether we die, we die unto the Lord: whether we live therefore or die, we are the Lord's.' What could not spring from the ashes of such a phoenix!"

Scientists and the Kingdom

This brings me to a closing word. If the nation is to enter upon a new way, a change must occur in its spiritual leadership. That leadership is in the hands of the scientists on the one hand and the churches on the other. Both are deeply involved at present in the regime of war. Both, I think, are troubled by that fact. It is our task to speak to them in God's name about the gospel of reconciliation and non-violence.

The former, or some of them, may be nearer the Kingdom than we think. Leo Szilard, one of the foremost of the atomic scientists, wrote in a recent article: "Most of us physicists believe that nothing short of a miracle will bring about . . . a peaceful solution." He concluded that article with this sentence: "Obviously the odds are heavily against us, but we may have one chance in ten of reaching safely the haven of permanent peace; and maybe God will work a miracle for us—if we don't make it too difficult for Him."

[1] Published by Harper Bros., 1946. Quoted by permission.

Children Up a Tree

OR HOW TO BE A SUCCESSFUL PACIFIST PARENT

By

MARGUERITTE HARMON BRO*

Illustrations by Dave Miller

CHILDREN OF PACIFISTS are often up a tree and some of them risk deformity from being hunched too far out on a limb. If they climb down, they may run athwart the hurt feelings of their parents, while if they keep their precarious seat they may become as much a laughing-stock as any other two-legged animal who makes himself an exception to the habits of his kind. This is a predicament of which every pacifist parent is already aware. Who knows better that it is a whale of a job to teach a child to live at peace with all men and still be a normal little citizen? Or at least an accepted citizen in his own young community?

All parents are confronted by responsibilities, but the pacifist parent has a couple of extra ones. He has to pass on to his child his own idea that non-violence is the only ultimate persuasion. At the same time he has to give a child a feeling of adequacy great enough to bear the brand of a minority conviction. Obviously, the easiest way for a parent to pass on a conviction is to have it himself. And the easiest way to offer a feeling of adequacy is to share what one has himself achieved. But most of us parents are also personalities in the making and we have to deal with our children while dealing with ourselves.

Lives in an Immediate World

A child's world differs from an adult's world primarily in being more concrete and immediate. A child must deal with situations which thrust themselves upon him unexpectedly; he is less likely than an older person to anticipate difficulty. Being human, he often reacts before he thinks. When he realizes he is in a jam, he loses his temper and the rest just happens. Now the fight-in-anger situation is relatively easy; even a young child senses that he is partly to blame for that kind of tangle and can be led to see that he has responsibility for precipitating it. But a child's having come to the defense of someone else is much more difficult.

To take a simple case: Jim, aged seven, is on his way home from school when he hears four non-Jewish first-graders taunting Ezra, a new Jewish boy. One child pulls Ezra's coattails and another tries to step on his toes. Ezra flies at them, fist and teeth. Into the fray bounds Jim. With a few well-aimed punches he is about to settle this particular hash when he suddenly recalls his promise to his father not to fight in any circumstance. He is aghast at his broken promise; his arms fall limp at his sides. Fortunately the very suddenness of his desisting startles his opponents.

"What's the matter?" one of them asks.

"I remembered I can't fight," Jim snaps. His anger has risen against himself and he is baffled.

"You're doing all right," one of his opponents encourages him. It would be a pity to spoil a good fight now.

Jim thinks fast. "You come to my house and I'll give you cake and we'll arbitrate." Arbitrate is a word that has figured so prominently in family conversation at Jim's house that he does not know it is not first-grade coin of the realm.

Cake and Arbitration

The boys talk fast but the one idea that stands out is cake. When they get to Jim's house there isn't any cake. Fortunately Jim's mother senses that cake is terrifically important so she manages to substitute peanut butter sandwiches, apples and candy bars. Then Jim takes over. "You kids are on one side," he explains "so you sit this side of the table. Ezra and me, we're on the other side so we sit here. Now first you say what you got against Ezra and then we say it isn't so. See?"

"Recalls his promise"

The whole of that conversation is worth analyzing but the sum of it is that the six boys, having their share of the fairness which marks the judgment of most children, arrive, unaided, at the conclusion that Ezra can't help being a Jew. The four remain of one mind in holding that Jews are undesirable neighbors, because their parents have said so, but they admit they don't know why Jews are undesirable. Their over-all conclusion—for which the belligerents furnish the best arguments as is often the case—is that in America anybody should have a chance and that Ezra might get to be a good guy in spite of his handicap. All at once they begin to coach him on what to do if anybody picks on him. They are his protectorate. Ezra's eyes shine. He has a bodyguard. Jim senses disaster. "Look!" he says, "thing is, we gotta do all this without

* FOR member, writer, missionary to China, world traveler, and mother of four children. Her husband, Albin Carl Bro, is president of Frances Shimer College, Mt. Carroll, Ill.

a fight. We gotta walk up to a guy with our hands behind us, like this, and we gotta look him straight in the eye and tell him. With five of us looking him straight in the eye, he's gotta listen."

So the plan unfolded. And it worked.

Not all pacifist children are going to think as fast as Jim and mistakes will be made. Perhaps a young pacifist walks in with a black eye. What then? Probably the parent's best first-aid is to keep his own tone dispassionate. Get the facts and then help the child to analyze them. What could he have done differently? Did he himself do anything to foment the trouble? Did he try reason and fairness?

Having analyzed the situation and discovered other possible courses of action, the child needs to be made to feel that his mistake was a mistake and not an act of treason. No one becomes an active pacifist by means of one intent. Nor is he a defector by means of one failure. He has continually to try his intent in actual life situations, many of which involve him suddenly.

Sometimes a child gets the basic idea of a pacifist attitude but he feels unable to work it out in daily affairs and so he withdraws from life. He won't go out for sports. He is afraid of situations that may try his convictions. Or he may swing to the other extreme and become militant in his pacifism. People who differ from him are dumb. He uses words and attitudes to bat them down and otherwise presents a definitely aggressive picture—in the name of peace.

Withdraws from life

A third variant, which may color either the withdrawal or the aggression, is a feeling of embarrassment over his parents. They are different. A child dreads being different. He fears being conspicuous. He senses a certain social ostracism. He cannot bear to be queer.

Needs Feeling of Adequacy

It is at this point that a pacifist parent has to give his child a feeling of adequacy. He has to be sure the child has a reasonable amount of status. (Perhaps his first and basic help lies in making sure the child understands the reasonableness of the pacifist attitude, that the child understands it in terms of his own life and also in terms of its ultimate implication in the world picture.) Any five-year-old who is old enough to follow the gist of war news as discussed in the family is old enough to understand the peace news: the dramatic incidents of restaurants opened to Negro patrons through the quiet insistence of white patrons, of strikes avoided by arbitration, of the relocation of Japanese-American families. A child quickly feels his part in the solidarity of a cause. The same impulse that made our grandparents, at the age of six, save pennies for foreign missions, operates to help a modern child effect creative good will toward the challenge of reconciliation.

But even after a child understands the pacifist attitude and has acquired the inner sanction to which children are extremely sensitive, he still has to hold his own in daily life. Here the parent's ingenuity is called into play. Take the common predicament of a pacifist child in a neighborhood of children who play some variant of cops and robbers. The pacifist child, by edict or preference, cannot play cops-shoot-thieves or marines-shoot-Japs. What then? The parent invents a better game. In lurid detail, perhaps, he spins the true story of an Indian village whose sheep are stolen by a bold jungle lion. The lion has even grabbed a baby and dropped it at the edge of the jungle, frightened by a terrific pounding of drums. Comes our hero to the rescue—and pardon us if he is an American doctor or a Christian school teacher when he might as reasonably have been a Hindu humanitarian—and our hero plans to outsmart the lion. He sets snares, he tries surrounding a hill, he baits the lion in his den. Whatever he does, he is at last successful. The village gives a feast. The lambs and the children are safe. The lion goes to Ringling Brothers Circus. And at that point—after three exciting months of lion chasing—the neighborhood takes to playing circus.

Tried in Real Life

Now these are no maybe-it-might-work illustrations but pages from real life, tried and proven in a variety of situations. Pacifist children reclaim Palestine—in backyards and under dining-room tables. Pacifist children raise food for the starving—and the play becomes genuine when they take a ten-dollar CARE package and actually peddle its component parts from doorway to doorway until they have enough money to repack that package and four others to send to real people in real places. Pacifist children put on plays for pennies—and nickels and quarters. Good plays, too, composed, directed and acted by themselves. All they need is a cause and a way of acting in its behalf. For a cause boys will bake pies and pop corn; girls will saw wood and haul water. Just make the need real enough and children will work out their own solution and with it their own status.

Parents have an even more subtle responsibility, however, in not being any more odd than they need to be. Or rather, they can think of ways to be pleasantly queer so that their children have group respect in spite of, as well as because of, their convictions.

No queerer than necessary

With a little intelligent direction our children can manage a lot more rope in the matter of getting around on streetcars and trains; they can get themselves to and from concerts, plays, art galleries; they can go alone to restaurants and order dinners on a diner. They can help to plan their own parties and make them the best parties the group ever attends. Then other children look up to them. In order to help our children to be secure and effective in their

(*Please turn to page* 116)

"But-" Said the Newest Cherub

By ALFRED HASSLER

THE LORD LAY BACK in a big armchair, with his eyes closed and what might have been distant thunder rumbling in the air, when the Newest Cherub advanced hesitantly into the room. With one eye on the recumbent figure, the Newest Cherub carefully removed his wings and stood them in the corner wing-stand. Then he coughed softly.

The Lord stirred in his chair and a pile of papers slid gently from his lap to the floor, but his eyes did not open.

"Go away," said the Lord. "I'm thinking."

The Newest Cherub shivered. The Earthwind had been cold, and the Earth itself depressing. Besides, it had been his first mission, and he felt nervous.

"But Lord," he protested, "this is urgent. It's another report from Earth."

The Lord opened one eye and sighed wearily.

"Any better than the last batch?" he asked resignedly. He opened the other eye and took in the shivering messenger. "It's all right, son," he said kindly. "It's not your fault. I just get a little tired sometimes. . . . What did you bring back this time?"

The Newest Cherub delved into his dispatch case.

"My instructions," he said importantly, "were to find out how Your People are feeling about war these days—"

"Careful how you refer to 'My People,' " the Lord interrupted. "There's considerable self-deception on that score now, I believe."

"Yes, sir." The Newest Cherub fingered a little red pamphlet. "Peter said he was anxious to find out how his branch of the church is thinking, so I brought this back with me. It's written by some theologians."[1]

"And what do they say about war?" inquired the Lord politely.

The Newest Cherub wrinkled his brow. "I'm afraid," he said apologetically, "I don't understand it all myself, but there's a section on the ethics of atomic war I thought you'd be interested in."

"Who wrote it?" inquired the Lord.

"A Reverend Wilfrid Parsons, S. J., and the Ethics Committee."

"And what do they say?"

"We-ll," the Newest Cherub leafed over the pages, "they say that atomic total war pursued as an end or objective is illegitimate."

"What does that mean?" demanded the Lord.

"I guess," said the Newest Cherub, "it means that it's wrong to go out and wage atomic war just for the sake of waging it."

"That sounds like a fairly safe position to take," agreed the Lord. "Do they say why it would be illegitimate?"

"Mm-hm." The Newest Cherub's lips moved soundlessly as he read down the paragraph. "Here it is. 'It would be merely indiscriminate slaughter of mere civilians without any proportionate benefit to be gained.' "

The Lord's brows drew together, but his voice was deceptively gentle. "Mere civilians, eh?" he repeated. "Seems like a poor adjective, doesn't it, son?"

"I don't think they meant it that way," said the Newest Cherub hastily. "It's just that the leaders get to thinking like that—I mean—"

"Never mind," said the Lord. "Read some more."

"They do say that starting an atomic war is immoral," said the Newest Cherub happily. "Let me read it: 'Since any war that is started in the future will very probably begin with a large shower of atomic bombs and without warning, it is to be doubted that in the future any war at all will be a moral one. . . .' That's good, isn't it, Lord?"

The Lord looked at the Newest Cherub kindly. "Yes, it's good, son," he agreed. "The only trouble is that no nation ever admits to starting a war. Even when it fires the first shot, or drops the first bomb, it claims that it's acting in defense. There's the real issue—what do they say about defense?"

The Newest Cherub looked back at the pamphlet in his hand, and his face clouded with uncertainty.

"They take that up next," he admitted. "They say suppose some other nation attacked 'us'—that's the United States—and destroyed all our power to resist an invading force but not our bombs and launching platforms."

"Then what?" said the Lord.

"They say it wouldn't be right to bomb the enemy's people in retaliation," said the Newest Cherub sadly.

The Lord sat up straighter.

"They do? That's not bad! Why are you looking so gloomy?"

"They don't stop there," the Newest Cherub confessed. "And I'm not sure you're going to like the rest of it."

"Oh," said the Lord, and relaxed into his chair again. "Go on."

"It seems it's all right to bomb the enemy's cities if that will prevent 'him' from invading 'us,' " said the Newest Cherub, his eyes on the finely patterned Persian cloud under his feet. "But," he added hopefully, "it has to be the '*absolutely necessary* and *only possible* defense.' "

The Lord looked up quizzically. "Theologians wrote that?" he asked.

"Yes sir. That section was written especially by the Rev. F. E. Henneberry, S. J., Professor of Moral Theology at Woodstock College, Maryland, U. S. A."

"A *Christian* theologian?" the Lord insisted.

"Yes sir. I believe so." The Newest Cherub looked very unhappy.

"Writing to Christians, too," mused the Lord. He sighed deeply, "And if it turns out that it's '*absolutely necessary*' then anything goes at all? Is that it?"

"Oh no, sir." The Newest Cherub looked shocked.

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1 *Peace in the Atomic Age*, published by the Catholic Association for International Peace. 1947.

"Even then there must be a 'proportionate reason' for permitting the slaughter of civilians in large numbers, and the method has to be chosen that would give the results desired at minimum cost."

"How's that again?"

"It means," explained the Newest Cherub, "if 'we' could win the war by an attack that would kill only 100,000 civilians, or with an attack that would kill 1,000,000 civilians, it would be right to kill the 100,000 but wrong to kill the 1,000,000. F. E. Henneberry says 'we may not use the second and larger (method) since the excess of evil is not required for the defense of our right.' Of course," said the Newest Cherub reasonably, "if the second method is the only one that will work, then that's all right, too."

"Is that your own idea," asked the Lord, "or is that in the book, too?"

"That's in the book," said the Newest Cherub. "It says that 'since we do not intend the destruction of life but only of productive capacity, the permitted deaths of so many are outweighed by the good obtained, the salvation of the innocent country. This is not total war in the condemned sense.' "

The Lord looked up, and the Newest Cherub averted his eyes hastily from the glare.

"How," asked the Lord, "does that sound to you?"

"Reasonable," admitted the Newest Cherub.

"Which?" asked the Lord. "A hundred thousand? Or a million? Or," said the Lord softly, "a hundred million? Surely," said the Lord, "there might just as reasonably be a case where it would be necessary to kill a hundred million civilians for the salvation of an innocent country? That seem reasonable to you too?"

The Newest Cherub shifted his feet uncomfortably. "I really don't know, sir," he said, "If it *is* an innocent country, though. . . ."

"Let us consider this matter of innocence," said the Lord. "How many human beings have to be burned or blasted to death before the country ceases to be innocent?"

"I don't know," said the Newest Cherub miserably.

"Or let us forget these millions of anonymous deaths," suggested the Lord, "and concentrate on one. Look," said the Lord, and floating on the surface of a convenient cloud was the picture of a little girl and a little boy, playing together in the dirt in front of a house.

"Here," said the Lord, "are two children. I am tired of generalities," said the Lord, "so these are two Russian children, who live in the outskirts of Moscow." The Lord's face was very compassionate and very angry at the same time. "They are on the outskirts of the city, and so, when this United States of yours defends its innocence by dropping bombs on Moscow, they will not be killed instantly by the blast, but burned by the radiation, so that they die, in dreadful pain, in two slow months. But, of course, they are the guilty, aren't they?" said the Lord.

The Newest Cherub hung his head and was silent.

The Lord watched the children meditatively. "And the men who made the bombs, and the men who launched them, and the men who own the Middle East oil wells—these are all pure in their innocence!" After a long while he spoke again. "In your classes," he said to the Newest Cherub, "have you come to that thing Jesus said about children?"

"Yes," said the Newest Cherub, "but I'm afraid I forgot it for a while."

"Recite it for me, please," said the Lord.

"Unless you become as little children," said the Newest Cherub, "you shall not enter the kingdom of heaven, and as for anyone who harms one of these little ones, it were better for him that a millstone were hung about his neck and he were cast into the depths of the sea."

The eyes of the Lord drooped shut, and silence filled the big room, and clouds seemed to gather about the white head.

The Newest Cherub waited what seemed a long time. Then he coughed again, apologetically.

"Any message, Lord?"

The Lord's eyes remained closed.

"What d'you mean, sonny?"

"Should I tell *them* anything? Do you want me to tell them about the children, and innocence, and that?"

The Lord opened an eye and looked astonished.

"You *are* new here, aren't you?" he remarked. "No, there's no message." There was a long silence, and the Newest Cherub wondered if he ought to leave. Then the deep voice rumbled once more. "You don't need to tell them what I think about atomic war. Nobody does. They knew what I thought about things like that long before atomic bombs existed. They know how I feel. Every last one of them knows. It's in their hearts to know." The dying fire flickered in the gloom. "They just don't care, that's all!"

Freedom of Worship

Congressional Division

"And the position of the flag in the churches has long been in dispute! For example, the minister of a church in a Virginia town placed his church's flag in the position of honor—that is, at his right—and relegated the United States flag to the secondary position. To back up his contention that it was correct flag usage, he said the Navy flew the church flag over the ensign on shipboard.

"Some of his church members appealed to me. And in a letter to the local paper in the minister's town I explained that a Navy chaplain's private pennant (its correct name) over the ensign was a signal to surrounding ships that the crew was at divine service. Such a practice is not intended to represent God above country, as so many believe. Certainly it would be a bit strange to proclaim a ship Christian for a few minutes each Sunday and a pagan vessel for the rest of the week. . . .

"One fact that is overlooked by some members of the clergy is that without the protection of the United States flag we might not have freedom of worship. . . ."

—Representative Bertrand W. Gerhart of California in the Congressional Record of Feb. 12, 1947.

Can the Demands of Science and the Dictates of Kindness Be Reconciled? A Beloved American Poet Writes on—

Blessing the Animals

By SARAH CLEGHORN*

VISITORS IN ROME ON JANUARY 17 used to go to the Church of St. Antonio Abbate to see the animals blessed. A good many horses, donkeys, and perhaps a dozen dogs, a kitten or two in the arms of a child, were brought by their owners for the benediction. Standing in this group, we descendants of apes fraternized with our poor relations—country cousins—before our mutual heavenly Friend. The service had to be outdoors to accommodate its four-legged beneficiaries, and surely that was the fitting cathedral for us all.

Some concrete earthly benefit, one felt, would probably accrue to the blest. Horses' and donkeys' pails were especially washed, maybe, on St. Antonio's Day, and brimmed full of clean cold water. These patient creatures had already been relieved, by the Italian Societies for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, from those sharp-toothed iron combs of torture which drivers, a generation earlier, had all but universally used. Set cunningly in the harness over the animal's neck, this implement could, by a twitch of the reins, be set on edge, teeth inward, sharply digging into the flesh, and producing a convulsive leap into a temporary trot. In Naples the walls of the office of the Humane Society were covered with a solid mass of hundreds of these devilish combs that had been confiscated.

Perhaps the donkeys were taken out of the shafts and led to their rest an hour earlier that night. Perhaps children gave their fathers' horses apples or lumps of sugar. Perhaps even the poulterers forbore to fasten their fowls for the last night of life by the excruciating interlocking of wings which was current when I was there.

Perhaps extra food was tossed into Trajan's Forum in honor of St. Antonio to rejoice the ten or fifteen homeless cats who dwelt there in apparent comfort and independence.

Modern Antonios

There are modern St. Antonios in all countries, apparently, who take upon themselves to remember animals in general, as well as being kind to their own pets, and according to the pleasant modern custom, provide a seed-tray for the birds that frequent their gardens. Such a one is Lucy Furman, a Kentucky writer known to the newspapers of her home city as "ninety pounds of pure grit." For she, by the irresistible combination of sweet temper and fearlessness made her state the fourth in the United States to outlaw the torturing steel trap ordinarily used in the fur trade. She is now combining protection of fur-bearing animals with nature-preservation, in a national effort to humanize our country.

Few women, I am sure, would wear trapped fur coats if they had to watch the real owners dying with hellish slowness all night, in frenzied pain and fear (pain which we can verify by gently placing one finger in the clutch of such a trap, and trying to hold it there for two or three minutes). Two hundred and fifty die thus, sometimes, *for one fur coat.*

A good many trappers have repented so far as to spend eager hours contriving traps that will catch and hold creatures, from bear to ermine, without torture. Substantial prizes have been offered for years by the National Humane Society for such traps. That distinguished naturalist, the late Vernon Bailey, of the Geological Survey, invented painless traps and proved them by catching various creatures of all sizes from beaver to mice—releasing them later, unhurt. He made moving pictures showing how well these traps worked.

Trapper Endowed Work

It was an old trapper who gave Henry Bergh his first endowment for the prevention of cruelty to animals. He was incurably ill and as he lay, remembering, in his own pain, the vast quantity of pain he had caused, he thought of the forty thousand dollars he had in the bank. Hearing of Bergh's efforts, he asked him for an interview, and gave him the forty thousand.

Slaughter for meat, which is partly under government supervision, needs a little more by Humane as well as Health, officers. In government pamphlets as well as in farm journals, cruel advice is occasionally given. The authors forget, I think, the decencies of relationship between animals and man. Had we a genuine holy day for blessing animal life, we might reconsider the ethics of cooking them alive, as we do oysters, lobsters, and crabs, for scientists tell us that no creature has yet been found, even when near the borders of the vegetable world, which has no susceptibility to pain.

Perhaps we might feel that a decent partnership between farmer and his animals ought to provide a share of profits for the animals in the shape of some pleasant naturalness in their lives. Horses already receive this share; cows, sheep and poultry still do so on old-fashioned farms. New-fashioned ones usually resist the cold-blooded advice of some farm journals to bring animal life down as low as possible toward being mere machines and meat. The outcasts of the farm are pigs and bulls, as ever. Pigs ought to be allowed the cleanliness which they love, and soon demonstrate when given a pasture with a running

* Poet and author, her latest book, *The Seamless Robe*, was published by Harpers. An FOR member long active in bettering labor conditions, she taught at the Manumit School for Worker's Children, worked against child labor and vivisection, and is associated with many other humanitarian enterprises.

brook. An early New Englander raised a white bull to act as his saddle horse, and rode him all over the countryside for years, without ever meeting with that treacherous turning and rending to which bulls are traditionally prone. Can it be that the frustrated need of exercise for their powerful muscles is the cause of this traditional fury as the similar case of the always-tied-up dog indicates?

Chasing creatures to death for the pleasure of it has lost its charm for a good many of us, though fishing still has cologne sprinkled over it, and is considered a fitting pastime for ministers, Presidents, and little boys and girls. Unsentimentally regarded, however, fishing in its commonest form consists of impalement of the earthworm in order to swindle the fish into impaling itself. Thus maltreating the earthworm is ungrateful of us, for this tiny ploughman is the fairy godmother of man's agriculture, and without its perpetual delicate "airing," our crude seasonal ploughing would succeed but poorly, our crops mysteriously dwindle.

Vivisection Opponents

Little old *Life*, unlike its giant successor, actively championed children and animals. It ran its own "Fresh Air Farm," and in its courageous opposition to vivisection, once printed a picture of a dog, on hind legs, dropping a ballot into a mailbox, with the caption, "Would that the dog had a vote!" In this respect, it was only continuing the mass revulsion with which the English and American public had received vivisection when it crossed the Channel and Atlantic, sixty-odd years ago. Then nobody expected its fabulous increase and millionaire endowments, or its vast secret extension in the interests of war. Eminent surgeons and physicians in both countries denounced it in vigorous fashion. Some totally rejected it (as did Herbert Snow, senior surgeon for many years at the Cancer Hospital, London), others endeavored to forbid all but painless experiments, urgently demanding strict government supervision to prevent any infliction of pain. Such was the endeavor of the great Henry J. Bigelow, whose centenary was celebrated with many honors by Harvard Medical School this past year. He it was who declared:

"There will come a time when the world will look back to modern vivisection in the name of science as they do now to burning at the stake in the name of religion."

One or other of these two views a large number of great medical and surgical leaders expressed; and Magendie, who had learned the cruelties of early vivisection in France, was often severely condemned, though very famous. Vivisection was denounced by most great religious leaders, Cardinal Manning, Cardinal Newman, Phillips Brooks, Dr. Spurgeon; the Queen's Chaplain and the Chief Rabbi of the British Empire—and likewise by such irreligious leaders as Robert G. Ingersoll, Mark Twain, Voltaire and Thomas Hardy. Tennyson, Browning, Dickens, Carlyle, Jeremy Bentham, John Bright, Tolstoi, Maeterlinck, Edward Bellamy, Oliver Wendell Holmes abhorred it, and Ruskin resigned from his Professorship at Oxford in protest against its introduction in the Medical School of Oxford University.

Lord Shaftesbury, probably the greatest humanitarian of the nineteenth century, the rescuer of children from wage slavery, the effective Parliamentary champion of every down-trodden group in England, to whose funeral London's poor came carrying banners that said "We were sick," "we were in prison," etc., "and he came unto us," opposed vivisection also with all his heart and soul; as does Gandhi, perhaps the greatest humanitarian of the twentieth century.

Well, their efforts failed. English supervision and limitation is weak; and here there is none whatever. At Princeton Institute a few years ago a considerable number of dogs had their legs beaten into "pulp," to use the descriptive word of the experimenter. At Johns Hopkins an experimenter took eighty "quiet, friendly dogs" (so he described them) and endeavored to mutilate them into forty pairs of Siamese twins. He felt with satisfaction that he had succeeded, for some of these mangled monstrosities survived for five or six days. What is the relation, think you, fellow lovers of peace, between cruelty to animals for the possible physical benefit of man, and cruelty to populations during and following wars? Can you sincerely think there is none?

If, as Lincoln suggested, "every lash the Negro slave received was paid for by a bullet in a white man's heart," can we be sure that every night of forgotten anguish endured by dog, cat, monkey and guinea pig in a laboratory, or trapped fur-bearing animals in the woods has not multiplied into streets of ruined homes, graves of tuberculous children, and wards of crippled, insane, or invalid soldiers whom none of the drugs we bought so dear will be able to restore?

"The heart," said Froude, "must often correct the follies of the head."

Children Up a Tree

(Concluded)

group we may have to give over a dining-room to provide a pingpong rendezvous; we may have to invest in a small kiln in order to bake the clay figures of our home-side modeling class; we may have to develop finger painting or a rhythm band or take up amateur theatricals, but whatever we have to do to make our home the pleasantest place in town is worth the doing. Then our queer ideas seem like better ideas than most. Our children are looked up to in a legitimate way as being among the creators of the good life.

After all, isn't that what pacifism is—a nurturing of the growing edge? On its negative side it is a refusal to use force to accomplish an end for the simple and practical reason that force ultimately defeats its purpose and inhibits growth. On its positive side pacifism is respect for personality made manifest in providing a social and spiritual environment that favors growth into fulness of life. It is our own sensitivity for personality that helps us parents share our children's predicaments and become inventive in helping them to grow through participation in problems. Young and old, we are working at the same task. When we ourselves are busy fostering the roots of growing things, our young ones are likely to climb down off their limb and help dig.

Pacifist Poet

By HARVEY HOWEY*

WILSON MACDONALD, WIDELY HAILED throughout the Dominion as Canada's greatest poet, is a man with a spiritual vision and a burning message. Nowhere is he so impassioned as when he lifts his voice or his pen as the prophet of truth to our age. Hating all cant and injustice, he does not soft-pedal his attacks on them.

One is tempted to write of his many nature and "human interest" poems, but it is enough here to say, in the words of one of his own poems: "He has kept high faith with beauty." The principal purpose of this article is to tell of his pacifist utterances, which may best be done by direct quotations. His basic convictions about war are rooted in the Christian gospel, and are summarized in a line in The Golden Cross that reads "There is no sword in Christ's diviner law."

Wilson MacDonald's witness for pacifism has been unique in Canada among the country's great poets and writers. In World War I he was outspoken against conscription, and as far back as 1911 was exalting in verse those principles which take away the occasion of all wars. In that year he wrote A Song of Brotherhood,[1] in which these lines appear:

I who sing this, am of no land:
For though my heart is fondest of one land,
Yet is this fondness truer because I love all lands.
I hate the sin of mine own flesh and blood;
And love the virtues of mine enemy.
I am of England only as England is of truth.
I am of France only as France is virtuous.
I am of Germany only as Germany is clean.
I burned my last, sad prejudice but yesterday:
Now am I free to speak, being of no land.
'Twas no pure fount of pride bade me prefer
A bloated Saxon, heavy with his wine,
To sad-faced Bedouins, fasting and at prayer.
Brother of France, brother of Germany, brother of the American States,
Brother of Italy, Russia, Iceland and Japan,
Comrade of the most unknown isle,
If thou art true, then, art thou more to me
Than one in mine own kingdom who is false.
In war my sword would urge its gleaming thrust,
With better play, through traitors at my side
Than at true-hearted foes.

In 1914 was written one of the greatest of all brotherhood poems, A Song of Better Understanding, which follows, in part:

Yesterday I said: "I will go kill a German:
I hate Germans: I hate their diet: I hate their aggressiveness."
So I buckled on my sword and sought out a Teuton.
And soon I found one sitting by the roadside,
And his head was bent in an attitude of profound thought.
Then I said: "My enemy, I have come to kill you."
And he answered quietly, "I will let you slay me
If you will permit my body to fall on the floor of yonder chapel."
So we journeyed to the chapel and entered its solitude;
But as I prepared my sword he chanted to me,
In the rich accents of his thoughtful tongue, a song of Goethe.
His Goethe? Nay! My Goethe? Nay! Our Goethe? Yea!
And when I raised my sword I turned, savagely and slew
Not him, but one of my idols—my false idols.

In *A Flagon of Beauty* appears a poem in somewhat similar vein entitled The Chink, and another of great faith is A Song of the Ultimate:

Who shall weep over
discouraging years
When discouraging aeons
Were lifted from chaos to order.
. . . . . .
I see around me gloom
and destruction
and depravity and despair,
but over all these
I see the shining
of a clear, white star. . . .

In *Out of the Wilderness* are fine challenging lines showing we are

. . . full of the old tricks,
Holding here a hand grenade,
Holding there a crucifix.

And, in the same book, A Song of the New Communities, telling of the time when "They shall walk without sword in either hand."

In the *Song of the Undertow* is a powerful poem called The Song of the New Jesus, in which the author gives the modern militaristic clergyman's picture of Jesus.

Here comes Jesus, lowly Jesus,
Riding on a battleship:
"Rule Britannia" in his pocket,
Pistols on his hip.
Simon Peter, happening near,
Turns and says to me:
"Gadzooks, how the Lord has changed
Since old Gethsemane."

Recent Christmas cards, designed by the poet, also have carried his characteristic message:

Beneath the command of a Carpenter's Son
The battle for peace must be fought now, and won.

and—

Join hands ye nations. This is the last call.
Join hands or the Play ends, and the curtains fall.

Gun and bomb and sword have had their day.
Now for the living Word, and the King's way.

Some time ago the *New York Times Book Review* said that "In the present generation of poets Wilson MacDonald is the outstanding figure." Pacifists should become better acquainted with his virile message.

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* Canadian Minister and FOR member.
1 From *The Song of the Prairie Land.*

Toward a Christian College

By CECIL HINSHAW

President, William Penn College, Oskaloosa, Iowa

IS THERE A PLACE for a liberal arts college dedicated to the uncompromising practice of pacifist and interracial principles and founded on a religious faith which normally produces such principles? The answer cannot be based upon past experiences of our colleges because such an experiment has not previously been made. The urgent need for students and financial support has effectively served to make gestures in this direction little more than incipient motions designed to attract liberals without alienating conservative support considered essential for all schools.

The values of ordinary colleges are not questioned by the posing of this issue, for it may well be that the progress of society demands many different types of educational and religious organizations. The sole issue being raised here is whether there is also need for a type of educational institution which will pioneer in absolutistic fashion along the frontiers of human thought and practice, becoming a guinea pig in the laboratory of social research.

A fundamental value in and a primary function of any idealistic experiment is the concrete illustration of principles which it gives to the world. Example is always a more potent influence than words in convincing people. No messages spoken by Jesus could have been effective unless his life had been a living example and sermon. Because he *was* his message, even to death, his words have become immortal. Francis of Assisi and Brother Lawrence are other illustrations of the necessity of incarnating the message in life. If the principles taught by Jesus, issuing in pacifism and racial equality, are to be meaningful in our world, they must be embodied in community life as well as in personal character.

Seat of the Teaching Ministry

Examples are multiplying today of communities dedicated to the attempt to realize these ideals. It still remains true, however, that our colleges are the seat of our *teaching* ministry. The teaching of ideals, so long vitiated by the gap between principles and practice, can become much more effective if it is inextricably intertwined with the actual practice of the ideals. The teaching itself will be sharpened and clarified and the living example of the ideals will be more forceful and compelling.

Closely related to this increased efficacy of the teaching ministry is a second major function of such an experiment. All ideal communities have faced the necessity of educating their youth. Some have made the experiment of almost total withdrawal from society, relying for their success upon their coming generation alone. This is as sad a mistake as the opposite policy, followed by some celibate groups, of having no children to rear. A healthy ideal community must be an expanding movement, constantly making new converts from the outside and also proving the vitality of its ideals by *successful education of its youth in terms of its ideals.* Many pacifists during the past war have been saddened by their inability to transmit the heritage of their ideals to their children. Our failure to see the necessity of an educational system inculcating these ideals may well be the explanation. Some young people will come to these ideals in the antagonistic environment of an ordinary school, but a vital movement must do more than win the occasional leader and thinker. It must also demonstrate that it can successfully pass its traditions, practices, and beliefs on to ordinary people, for it is the so-called common man who must be won if a movement is to succeed.

Evaluation of Ideals a Function

A third function of a college radically religious, pacifist, and interracial, would be the critical evaluation of these ideals and a responsibility for further exploration along the whole field of human thought and practice. Failure itself of this college would be a contribution to human society, even as failures of ideal communities in the past serve now as warning signals to all practical idealists. More important, though, would be the service rendered to society in pushing the ideals of human relationships out beyond present achievements. Such prophetic work would almost inevitably be the work primarily of individuals rather than the group. Genius in any field is never solely an individual matter. However, the prophet normally rises to great heights because he is supported and wholeheartedly upheld by some cultural group to which he belongs. He rises above the group both because of his insight and the contribution of the group to him. This intellectual and religious stimulation of a college community committed to absolutistic ethical standards should issue in new insights for human conduct, frontiers for future generations after the present battles have been won.

Could a college based upon these principles live?

Probably the most difficult answer is that which concerns the faculty. Sacrifice of security and prestige, willingness to live simply and economically, and a high degree of common virtues such as tolerance, trust, kindness, and good nature are all required. Civilian Public Service camps have demonstrated conclusively that few men who share ideals of pacifism and interracialism can live together harmoniously and creatively. The fact, however, that occasionally such pacifists can be found is evidence that such a faculty could be built. The failures, probably inevitable in such an experiment, should not be allowed to obscure the fact that there is a rising tide of selfless, daring idealism among pacifist young people across the nation. Even without any guarantee of security or prestige, many are longing for such an opportunity to pioneer in the building of a society

which shall be a moral and spiritual regenerative agent for the redemption of our decadent world.

The financing of such an institution presents very real problems. All attempt to get adequate support from the usual sources would have to be given up. Any ordinary community should not be expected to contribute substantially to such an institution. As time would prove the success of the experiment, and as elements in the community would be won over to the program (as should certainly happen), the support would grow, but it could not be expected in the beginning. Although large support cannot be expected from an ordinary alumni, a few colleges have some alumni who would rally quickly to such a program and probably offset in large measure the loss occasioned by alumni alienated by the abandonment of the older policies. The chief support of this type of college, however, would have to come from a nationwide constituency of people who share these ideals. It is probably safe to say that such help would be *absolutely essential* to the success of the enterprise.

Student Employment

A part of the program of an ideal Christian college that should make for financial success and also add to the educative value of the school would be a strong student employment program coupled with standards of simplicity for both students and faculty. Rightly guided, such a policy, as has been amply demonstrated at a number of experimental colleges, makes the institution more secure and self-sufficient financially while it is measurably improving educational practices.

The enrollment of students would depend largely upon the same factors which would determine financial success. Only if young people receptive to these ideals are willing to sacrifice the advantage of degrees from old, established institutions and some of the concomitants of such college education, can a student body for an ideal college be recruited. Although such a college could and should provide excellent teaching, it could not hope to compete in reputation, comfort, equipment, and specialized instruction with most other colleges. Actually, it is normally easier to convince young people of the value of this type of college than it is to convince parents. For it is almost axiomatic that modern parents, even pacifists, hesitate seriously to burden their children with handicaps of any kind in the competitive, materialistic struggle of modern society. Only when character and ideals are recognized to be of fundamental importance in the education of our children will we forego the economic advantages of the typical modern college education in favor of the spiritual and moral values inculcated in an institution committed to the practice of these great Christian ideals.

Is there a place for a liberal arts college dedicated to the uncompromising practice of pacifist and interracial principles and founded on a religious faith which normally produces such principles? Yes, provided that men and women who share these ideals see an educational institution as a necessary implementation of their faith, and provided they are willing to sacrifice for such a cause.

Image of the Fact

WALLACE HAMILTON

THE ELDER WISE MEN OF PEACE gather together and shake their heads sadly. Says one: "The younger men of peace have made only one development—they sink further and further into anarchism. Theirs is a dubious Christianity, not socialism at all, and no proper theory For A Better World."

And all the other wise men echo ". . . For A Better World." The sweet antiphon. The ritual pledge.

A most serious charge—"no proper theory." And the young men can only plead guilty to Their Honors, and bear the uneasy consequences. No proper theory. No book—unless Kropotkin's pamphlets hold. No prophet—since Bakunin, bombs have lost their glamor. No martyr—for Berkman found that Frick was tough and power clever. Only one great credo formulated—"War is the health of the state."

In all, not much of a defense.

But have Your Honors grown so old that you forget where theories come from? Have you forgotten your own viscera and the coursing of adolescent adrenalin? Have you forgotten some distant pivot on which your lives have swung, some point you came to, slammed down your fist, and said, "This, God be my witness, is filthy rotten wrong!"

"This," you may remember, was some gleaming fact that pressed in on you, shattered your dream's architecture of The Good. "This" was an image drawn by an artist for all wise men (not elder, then) to see and keep adrenalin flowing. Art Young was such an artist.

Perhaps Your Honors are wise enough to know that, in the turn of time, new fact rears up to shadow other fact that gleamed so clearly once. This new fact has a thrust and weight that young men have felt most intimately, and seen, and know as fact. The theory is sparse; the image crude. Still, fact and image make a brute defense.

But what's the fact of prison, and what's the composite image of screws and wardens and parole boards? What's the fact of a forestry camp ten miles from nowhere, the images of project men and generals and sweet-talking wise men of peace? What's the fact of millions packed in drear barbed-wire hunks throughout this brave new socialist world, and the images of paper-shufflers and sullen guards and endless little numbered gears that never mesh?

The fact is a Nirvana of human rot. The image is the sleek beefy face of The State. The adrenalin is flowing well, Your Honors. The theory will come.

News from the Peace Front

Easter Paraders Sentenced; "Not the Weeping Kind"

Ten poster walkers, arrested Easter Sunday for carrying placards along New York's Fifth Avenue have been tried and sentenced for disorderly conduct. Marion Coddington and James Peck were sentenced to fifteen days or $50 fine each. The other eight were given three days in jail or a $10 fine. They were Nathan Horwitz, Vivien and Igal Roodenko, Edwin McCracken, David Zarnoske, Andrew Osgyan, Bayard Rustin, and Morris Horowitz. Nathan Horwitz, Andrew Osgyan, and Marion Coddington paid their fines, while the others served time.

Prior to Easter Sunday the New York FOR-War Resisters League poster walk committee had followed its usual custom of notifying the police that it was planning the Easter poster walk. A letter, phone calls, and finally an interview between a local police captain and A. J. Muste of FOR brought only objections from the police.

The defendants based their case on Constitutional rights guaranteeing freedom of speech and an earlier case in which slogans written on posters were declared a valid form of speech. Police claimed that traffic was obstructed, but admitted that the paraders behaved in orderly fashion.

As the group left the courtroom one official was heard to remark to another, "These aren't the weeping kind, are they?"

Appeals are being considered, perhaps with support of labor groups who wish to insure the right to picket in orderly fashion.

CO Tests Right to Teach in New York City Schools

Whether COs have the right to teach in New York City's public school system has divided the Board of Education in the metropolis.

Two years ago Harold Ruvin, now teaching at P.S. 168 in Brooklyn, was denied a teaching certificate after examiners questioned his status as a CO. He appealed the ruling to the State Commissioner of Education, who ordered that the license be granted on the grounds that the examiners had no right to question Ruvin's claim since he had already been classified as a CO by Selective Service.

The general policy dealing with COs is still not settled, however. The examiners have voted in a four-to-three decision to continue to deny licenses to COs unless they "can demonstrate by their actions wholehearted and self-sacrificing devotion during the war to the national cause or to the welfare of humanity. . . .

"One of the generally accepted responsibilities of a citizen is, if called on, to bear arms in the defense of his country and to risk his life in so doing. A CO cannot be expected to do his duty as a teacher in impressing this responsibility on his pupils; on the contrary, such a teacher might even consider it his duty to teach resistance to military service."

The majority contended that while COs might be "deserving of respect" as individuals, this did not imply "that they should be permitted to teach in public schools."

At the same time, Andrew G. Clauson, Jr., president of the Board of Education, said, "Many COs base their objections on religious grounds, and the Board of Education does not believe that a person should be barred from a teaching position because of his religious beliefs."

Brethren, Mennonites Ask New NSB

The Brethren and Mennonites have decided to sponsor a continuing National Service Board which they hope to have incorporated in the Universal Military Training proposals now before Congress or in any subsequent conscription measures.

Their plan would designate COs as persons who object "to participation in all wars and training therefor, or to training for combatant service by reason of religious training or belief or humanitarian convictions."

They would exempt from required service all persons who object to registration under National Service acts. The plan calls for pay and workmen's compensation for COs in accordance with standard rates. They also request that "no person who is an officer or member of the armed forces, or on reserve or inactive status be appointed to or employed by the NSB or agencies cooperating with it."

Free: "A Modern Testament." Written in prison. Bennett, 41 Avenue B, New York 9, N. Y.

German Food Crisis Worse Than Ever

The long-feared food crisis has come to Germany. The thoroughly uneconomical plan to govern Germany as three separate zones instead of as an economic unit has made conditions worse than at any time since the end of the war, according to Herbert L. Matthews, in the *New York Times,* May 13.

General Lucius Clay, for the Americans, and Lt. General Sir Brian Robertson, for the British, are finding that not even the most cordial discussions can solve problems inherent in the policy of running the British and American zones independently of the food-producing Russian zone.

The result is that the United States is paying for the unworkable Potsdam Agreement and in effect paying reparations to Germany while trying to both subjugate and feed her starving population.

General Lute Reveals Army, Navy Waste

The Senate Armed Forces Committee has made public the suppressed report on Army and Navy waste compiled by Gen. Leroy Lute, Army procurement director.

Gen. Lute's report charges that "duplication and lack of coordination in supply activities of the Army and Navy during the years 1942 through 1945" cost the United States at least $1,150,000,000. This huge sum does not include gasoline, oil or lubricant purchases.

"We are certain that the material demands of any future war will not be less than the last," the report continued. "Two hundred million dollars could have been saved if medical facilities and personnel had been consolidated."

The General lists losses of over $80 million in duplication of port installations, $22.5 million in overlapping staging area operations, and $30 million in communications costs.

CO Nears End of Second Month of Hunger-Strike

Thomas J. Leonard, imprisoned at Danbury, Conn., has been hunger striking since his arrest April 18. He walked out of Byberry CPS Camp shortly after V-J Day, refusing to continue work without compensation under CPS. In March 1946 he was sentenced to six months, but appealed. His arrest in April followed the Supreme Court's refusal to review his case.

National Council Meets, Discusses Program, Action

Meetings of FOR's National Council, May 29-31, in New York City sped along with pleasant good humor under the able chairmanship of Charles Iglehart of Union Theological Seminary.

If the time allotted for both afternoon sessions had to be extended, it was only because all of the Council members were thinking and planning for the next half-year.

Each meeting was opened with brief devotions, remarkable for the way in which they set the tone of the discussions that followed. Charles Iglehart, Douglas Steere, Harry Emerson Fosdick, Charles Jones, and Walter Muelder served in turn.

Refusing to be discouraged by gloomy news reports, the Council concentrated on a full schedule of pacifist activity. For their actions, see "What Happened at the National Council."

Farm Home Fights Juvenile Delinquency

Directed by Robert "Father Bob" Mize, Jr., an FOR member, the St. Francis Boy's Home in Ellsworth, Kansas, has grown into a promising alternative to sending delinquent and near-delinquent boys to state institutions when they can better profit from specialized care.

The Episcopal Church sponsors the home for boys with small incomes. It provides a necessary change in environment from broken homes and families unable to meet their needs to a friendly farm community.

The thirty boys range in age from seven to eighteen. They are supervised by Father Bob, two male counselors, a woman supervisor, and two assistants. By sharing much of the work, costs are kept down to a total of only $70 a month per boy, including tuition.

The boys selected are above average intelligence. While eighty per cent of them faced police charges before coming to the home, they are capable of leading natural lives and attending public schools. Great efforts have been made to have them accepted as regular members of the community, and public skepticism is diminishing as the months go by.

"Register Christian Opinion!" is a new 16-page directory of who's who in the 80th Congress, with a special listing of standing committee members. Prepared by the Commission on World Peace of the Methodist Church, it may be obtained from Charles F. Boss, Jr., 740 Rush St., Chicago, Ill.

What Happened at the National Council

Latin America: John Nevin Sayre reported on his recent trip through Mexico and South America. FOR work in Mexico under Francisco Estrello's leadership and in South America under J. Antonio Loureiro is continually growing. An additional $600 from IFOR funds was voted for new Latin American work.

Nominating Committee: Shelby Rooks, minister of St. James Presbyterian Church, New York, N. Y.; Evelyn Lewis, YWCA secretary, Elizabeth, N. J.; and Leonard Edelstein, former CPS man and one of the founders of the National Mental Health Foundation were nominated and elected members of the Council. Jerimiah Edwards was also nominated but has not yet accepted.

Oslo Christian Youth Conference: A. J. Muste will attend the conference as an "expert" with the Commission on Freedom and Order. Margaret Anne Osborne will go as a delegate-at-large.

Canadian FOR: Albert Watson described the growth of the Canadian FOR from 200 members three years ago to 1500 today. The group is working against "cadet training" in the schools and for universal disarmament. The big job at present is to reach many CCF supporters who claim to be pacifists in the hope that CCF may take a strong anti-war stand.

Displaced Persons: The Council passed a resolution favoring the enactment of the Statton Bill (HR 2910) to admit 400,000 displaced persons to the United States during the next four years.

Church World Service: Emily Parker Simon reported on continuing needs in Hungary, Germany, and Czechoslovakia. Efforts are being made to secure an assistant for William Mensching, German FOR head. In describing "They Need You," an organization through which school children can send packages and letters to children in Europe, Mrs. Simon said, "It is important to define our limitations and work where we can make the greatest contribution, for the same money given to a relief agency would mean that more food could be sent."

Pendle Hill Report: A. J. Muste reported on the Pendle Hill Retreat-Conference, making clear that the well-knit cell group must form a basis for continued pacifist growth. It was emphasized that the cell group must not be a retreat from active participation in community life. Douglas V. Steere will prepare a leaflet for cell groups, with suggested reading lists. Several Council members spoke of the dangers of excessive use of religious terminology when speaking with younger potential FOR members. On the other hand, the need for continued emphasis on the spiritual and prophetic basis of non-violence was stressed. The people who come out of the churches are still the ones who are doing things about better race relations and economic thinking.

Universal Disarmament: Pacifists must raise the necessity for universal disarmament before the conscience of the world. We must have sound political implementation of religious motivation.

Conscription: FOR will continue to cooperate with the National Council Against Conscription. The cost of research to provide accurate and comprehensive information on growing militarism will be investigated.

Journey of Reconciliation: The Council members were deeply impressed by evidence of the spirit of non-violence and good will displayed by the young men who took part in the journey and the possibilities of the "technique" where this "spirit" prevails.

Financial Report: Both the budget and receipts are slightly smaller than last year, but FOR's financial condition is by no means as secure as it ought to be with the slack summer months approaching.

International Situation: A. J. Muste has been reliably informed that all government decisions on foreign policy are being made on the assumption that war with Russia is inevitable. We must not whitewash Russia any more than we could whitewash Hitler, but it is not necessary to assume that war is unavoidable. We must appeal to the churches for we have a basis for appealing to their deeply rooted conscience against war. The matter of Russian-American relations was referred to the Executive Committee for study.

Next National Council Meeting: November 20-22 in New York, N. Y.

Chapel Hill Judge Sentences Rustin and Roodenko

Bayard Rustin and Igal Roodenko, two of the persons arrested in Chapel Hill, N. C., for traveling in non-segregated fashion on an interstate bus, have been tried and sentenced by the North Carolina Court.

After fining Rustin $8.50 court charges and sentencing Roodenko to thirty days on the North Carolina chain gang, the judge told the defense lawyer, "I'd trust twenty like him [meaning Rustin, a Negro] to one like that man" [meaning Roodenko, a white advocate of racial equality]. The cases are being appealed.

Charles Jones, Chapel Hill minister who took the men to his home after the arrest, has borne the brunt of repercussion. However, his church has stood by him, feeling that church tradition forces them to back actions aimed at achieving racial equality. Many University of North Carolina students have become interested in the non-violent approach to racial problems and are flocking in greater numbers than ever to interracial meetings at Jones' church.

Some trials have been postponed indefinitely because both defense and prosecution lawyers want to wait until the Lottie Taylor case, also involving non-segregated interstate travel, is decided upon by the Supreme Court.

According to a Religious News Service report, Clarence Pickett, executive director of the American Friends Service Committee, has called upon Quakers to lessen their emphasis on relief and rehabilitation in order to stress policy making and influence popular opinion and public life. Eric Johnston of George School, Newtown, Pa., said, "We must convince America to surrender its power and to change competition into cooperation."

WANTED: Craft work—pottery, woodworking, rugs, leatherwork, etc.—for retailing. Will handle for 10% of profits. Write to Bill Colburn, 37 Oak St., Waterville, Me.

"Tomorrow's War and the Scientists" and "The Truman Doctrine" in the current issue of POLITICS. Send 50c stamps or coin to POLITICS, Dept. 1, 45 Astor Place, New York 3, N. Y.

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Bloomington, Ind., Ignores Race Relations

A mysterious lack of newspaper publicity for a recent Race Relations Institute in Bloomington, Ind., had FOR's Racial and Industrial Department baffled until signs began to appear in restaurants, "We cater to white trade."

Suspecting organized opposition, they began asking questions. It turned out that the Chamber of Commerce had persuaded local papers to ignore the Institute. One news story appeared a week before, and that only because the substitute night editor had not been informed of the "let's pretend they aren't here" policy.

The police were called when an interracial group appeared in line outside a Bloomington movie theatre. Police claimed they had to uphold the wishes of the theatre's management regardless of civil rights. Those who attended the Institute are investigating civil rights in Indiana.

Japan Food Lack Continues Serious

The relief situation in Japan continues to be wholly inadequate. Even in normal times Japan must import three million tons of food annually. Current production is kept low by the ravages of war and the lack of fertilizer. According to Gen. MacArthur, "not a pound of fertilizer has come in since the end of the war."

In response to food packages sent with IFOR funds, moving letters from Japan are now reaching members of the NY FOR War Victims Committee.

There is no agency similar to CARE functioning in Japan. LARA (Licensed Agencies for Relief in Asia) accepts contributions only through its member agencies and cannot direct contributions to particular individuals.

However, IFOR has more names on hand than can be sent packages from available funds. If you wish to send packages but have no personal contacts in Japan, write to the NY FOR, Room 614, 45 Astor Place, New York 3, N. Y., for names and addresses.

A new bill (H. R. 1938) would take the $1,300,000 earned by COs during the war from the general United States Treasury funds and allocate it to the International Children's Emergency Fund.

Children Send Letters, Packages to Europe

"They Need You" is an organization that grew out of a letter written to President Truman by a Friends' Sunday school class. The children pointed out that "if we wish to show such countries as Germany and Austria the right way to live, we must also give them the basic necessities of life. We cannot teach democracy to starving people."

Students at Haverford College picked up the idea. They have issued posters and pamphlets explaining European relief needs to children and suggesting what they can do. School children and their teachers are buying the pamphlets at five cents each.

Interested persons should write to They Need You, 21 S. 12th St., Philadelphia 7, Pa.

Friends Report Half-Hearted Pacifism

While the Society of Friends has long stood for pacifism, reports at the yearly meeting in Philadelphia indicate a trend toward war-is-inevitable-so-join-up thinking.

Abington, Pa., meeting reports that only half of its members either refused military training or refused to participate directly in war. "Our efforts are too superficial to be effective in removing deep-seated causes of war. The implications of Christian pacifist living . . . are still far from being realized in our personal lives."

Haddenfield-Salem, N. J.: "As a society we are opposed to conscription and to a large budget for defense, but many of our members have come to regard war as inescapable. Some do not have a basic understanding that war is morally wrong and unchristian and our present testimony against war is weak."

Philadelphia, Pa.: "We are not united in our attitudes toward participation in war."

Iowa Town Adopts Polish Village

Oskaloosa, Iowa, has made plans to adopt Tyszowce, a Polish village of 850 persons and to supply food, clothing, and other needs through personal contact.

FOR members among the faculty and student body at William Penn College have organized a committee representing twenty-seven farm, labor, Y, church, and PTA groups to handle the adoption plans. Alex Stach, ex-prison CO and FOR member is chairman.

House Bill Would Admit Displaced Persons

Legislation to admit 400,000 "displaced persons" to the United States in the next four years has been introduced in Congress by Rep. William G. Statton of Illinois. The bill provides that DPs be admitted at a gradual rate of not more than 100,000 per year for the next four years; that priority be given to relatives of American war veterans and to relatives of American citizens; that no person be admitted who does not conform to regular immigration standards of health, morals, democratic political beliefs and ability to support himself.

Immigration committee members are Reps. Frank Fellows, Me., John M. Robinson, Ky., Louis E. Graham, Pa., Emanuel Celler, N. Y., Frank L. Chelf, Ky., and Ed Gossett, Texas. Between 1940 and 1946 immigration quotas for 900,000 persons unable to leave war-torn countries were unfilled.

Postage Stamps Mean CARE Packages

The fact that special-issue stamps from all over the world have value as collectors' items is being used as the basis of a self-help relief program for Europe. Through the efforts of David S. Richie, relief worker in Poland and Finland, organizations in Czechoslovakia, Austria, Italy, Yugoslavia, Finland, and Bulgaria are sending stamps to America in exchange for CARE packages.

If enough individuals in America buy the stamps before they reach wholesale channels, more money for relief will be available. You may specify the country whose stamps you desire, but not particular stamps. Send your order, accompanied by a check made out to CARE, to "Stamps for Relief," Rt. I, Moorstown, N. J.

The Missouri Lutheran Synod has closed its preparatory schools for Negroes and admitted them to its other schools, where they will study with white students. The statement of the new plan asserts, "Racial segregation is contrary to the letter of the New Testament and to the spirit of the Christian faith."

HARD JOB WANTED

I want a difficult, challenging, creative position worthy of life-long service. Background: liberal, Christian, pacifist. Ex-prison C.O., age 30, with wife and child. A.B., M.A. in religious education. Teaching, youth and boys work, minister. Executive, organizing, editing, writing, speaking abilities. Functional approach in education, religion, life.

Bob Friend, 38 Whitney St., Boston 20, Mass.

Jottings

Robert Lowell, ex-prison CO, has won a $1000 award from the American Academy of Arts and Letters and the National Institute of Arts and Letters in recognition of his poetry. The judges said, "It could have been written nowhere but in New England, and at no time but now." He had previously been awarded the Pulitzer Prize for Poetry for his *Lord Weary's Castle*.

* * *

The War Resisters International has written to UN's Commission on Human Rights requesting that any international bill of human rights include conscientious objection to military service as an inherent right.

* * *

The Advisory Board and Organizing Committee of World Brotherhood Mobilization has called leaders and members of organizations concerned with world peace to form an Emergency World People's Conference. Meetings will be held in September in New York City at the time of the UN General Assembly. The Conference will pave the way for a World People's Congress in 1948. The Advisory Board includes many well known persons.

* * *

The War Resisters League held its eighteenth annual conference at Camp Goodwill, Butler, N. J., June 7-8. The theme, "How should the United States meet the challenge of the USSR," formed the basis of talks and discussions led by Evan W. Thomas, Scott Nearing, George W. Hartmann, James Robinson, David Dellinger, and Frank Olmstead.

* * *

Segregation of children of Mexican and Latin American descent into separate schools in Southern California has been declared unconstitutional by the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals.

* * *

Following vigorous efforts by the Washington, D. C., Committee on Racial Democracy, the trustees of George Washington University have announced that the University will impose no segregation rules when its Lisner Auditorium is leased to the public.

* * *

The Los Angeles, Calif., FOR is sponsoring a theatre group to produce legitimate drama with professional standards, dealing with social, political, religious, and racial issues. The group wishes to receive suitable three-act plays for consideration. Please send such manuscripts to the Los Angeles FOR, 127 S. Broadway, Los Angeles, Calif.

Sam Hohri, Japanese American who said, "In not being a legal citizen of the United States, and having expatriated myself insofar as possible in refusing registration for old country conscription, I felt emancipated and in the rare position of being able to claim world citizenship," died March 20 at the age of thirty in a Los Angeles T.B. sanitarium. An FOR member, he worked with the Socialist Party in Los Angeles until 1942 when he was sent to the Manzanar relocation center and then to the sanitarium.

* * *

The Brethren Service Committee reports that 500 tractors and 400 plows have reached China in time for plowing in the Yellow River Valley. Relief workers are already teaching the Chinese how to use the new machines.

* * *

Citizens of Norwalk, Conn., obtained over 15,000 signatures on a petition calling for the strengthening of the UN and outlawing the atomic bomb. The campaign was begun as the result of a speech on the implications of atomic warfare and the fact that a strong UN is impossible until the atomic bomb is placed under international control.

* * *

Dr. Arthur L. Swift, Jr., former national FOR chairman. was installed May 20 as Professor of Church and Community at Union Theological Seminary, New York, N. Y.

* * *

Ten thousand Mennonite "displaced persons," 98% of whom have kept their CO stand, are still wandering across Europe hoping to migrate to any land promising religious freedom.

* * *

Rev. Cameron P. Hall, FOR member, will head the newly expanded Department of the Church and Economic Life of the Federal Council of Churches.

* * *

James F. Crow, not to be confused with Jim, has sent a personally signed check to FAIR (Fellowship Appeal for Interracial Reconciliation).

* * *

Three Institutes of International Relations for teen-agers will be held this summer by the American Friends Service Committee. Camps in Pennsylvania, Maryland, and New York will house the three groups for periods of one week each. Write to Spahr Hull, 20 S. 12th St., Philadelphia 7, Pa., for further details.

The Peacemakers' Bookshelf

Pacifism and the Nazis

The End Is Not Yet, by Fritz von Unruh. Storm Publishers, 1947. 540 pp. $3.50.

About a year ago I learned from a German refugee friend that Fritz von Unruh, in some respects the most interesting and remarkable of all contemporary pacifists, was living within a stone's throw of the FOR office. I spent an evening with him and his wife. At that time the question whether this novel would find a publisher still remained to be answered. Even before its publication date, the book was hailed both in *The New York Times* Book Review and in *PM* as an important event. On the afternoon of that day the first two bookstores to which I applied had already sold out the copies they had received that morning.

Fritz von Unruh is now about sixty. He comes from one of the most aristocratic of Prussian Junker families. His father was an intimate of von Hindenburg. His first play, *Officers*, was produced by Max Reinhardt in 1912 and caused a sensation. His dramatic poem, *Facing the Decision*, was the first pacifist literary production of World War I, preceding Barbusse's *Fire* by more than a year. It was written at the front, literally in the saddle and on bloodstained paper. By many critics he is regarded as the foremost liberal writer of Germany during the Weimar Republic. Compelled to flee Germany after a concentration camp interlude, he finally succeeded in reaching this country in 1941 after Albert Einstein and Thomas Mann personally appealed to President Roosevelt.

A considerable part of this book is an exposure of the perversion, sadism and cynicism of the Nazi top leaders. Hitler, Goering, Göebbels, Hess, Himmler, are all there. Incidentally, the usual note that now accompanies any novel dealing with contemporary actual events in this case reads: "The characters of this novel are symbolic. Their resemblance to persons alive or dead is, indeed, a remarkable coincidence." Some of the passages are almost unbelievable; yet Unruh had unusual opportunities to learn the truth. In any case, the story is dramatic and absorbing. Once I had begun reading it, I found that I could not stop.

But the significant part of the novel is its positive pacifist message and the way it is worked out as an expression of the unfolding experience of the characters. The hero, Uhle, obviously in large measure the counterpart of Unruh himself, became a religious anti-militarist toward the end of World War I, under the influence of a wounded soldier with a Christ-like face who represents Jesus and appears at frequent intervals. But the Junker turned anti-Nazi is still uppermost in Uhle at the opening of the story, so he believes that in order to end the curse of war he must assassinate Hitler. Finally Uhle confronts Hitler who happens to be unarmed. As Uhle levels his revolver at the Fuehrer a conversation ensues which constitutes both great literature and great pacifist propaganda. Anger and hate stand out on Uhle's face and Hitler says: "How happy I am at last to have found out—definitely—that your whole Sermon-on-the-Mount imbecility that has been on tap in the churches and universities since Golgotha is definitely dead. Even in an ethocrat like you! Yes, that makes it easier to leave this world!—to realize . . . that there isn't a spark now of him who once said, 'Bless them that curse you.' . . . It pleases me that you prize moral exemplars of Western civilization, when you get down to the business of exterminating an enemy, find you can't get anywhere with the Gospel of Love! That you use torture too! Tanks, bombers and plenty of T.N.T."

Then in his rage Hitler addresses the West and in particular the United States: "You may kill me, but you will not kill my hate. No, you Yankees! My hate will celebrate its most sublime orgies in your hate! Supposing the hate . . . were actually finally to conquer the Third Reich—bitt schön—would that be the victory of the Sermon on the Mount? No, my esteemed Mr. President and churchgoers, it would be simply and solely the victory of *my hate*—in you!"

Thus is Uhle reminded—by Hitler—of what "the Christ of the Trenches" had taught him, and the revolvers which he had been training upon Hitler and on Hess, who was also present, sank. Then it is Hitler's turn to be amazed. "This," he cries, "is worse than the plague, Hess—I'm his mortal enemy . . . and he is my mortal enemy. But if mortal enemies are no longer going to shoot at each other—then I ask you: what was gunpowder invented for? . . . Hess, you see! He doesn't shoot. . . . Has the goateed Bolshevik from Nazareth come back again? Has the time really arrived when panzer divisions will have to put on their brakes before his cosmic gaze . . . because nobody wants to shoot any more?"

The scene that follows in which the great issues of the spiritual life are debated between Hitler and a Communist, a Jewish Rabbi and others is even more powerful and profound.

The final chapter deals with a young Nazi gauleiter who responds to the appeal of the mutilated soldier with the face like Jesus: "What are you babbling about? In any case, brother, we can't help it, the steamroller is on us." The answer comes: "The heart has its own center of gravity. Even though the world around us stands on its head. . . . In you is the will to the beast—in you is the will to God. As you decide—so it will be. Decide."

A.J.M.

The Porters' St. Philip

The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, by Brailsford R. Brazeal. Harper and Brothers, 1947. 258 pp., $3.00.

It is hard to talk about the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters without telling about its guiding spirit, A. Philip Randolph, America's outstanding Negro leader. Thus Dr. Brazeal's objective history of America's most powerful Negro labor organization is almost the story of A. Philip Randolph, its president since its formation in 1925.

Born in Florida, the son of a minister in the African Methodist Episcopal Church, Randolph used the Scriptures to organize. "Ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall set you free" was the heading for many Brotherhood publications. Today, the union, with a membership of 13,000 in the United States and Canada, is on a solid footing—so solid that it has been able to spearhead movements for social justice.

Financial contributions made by Brotherhood locals to the Negro March-on-Washington Movement, under Randolph's inspired leadership, secured the establishment of the wartime President's Committee on Fair Employment Practices. The same energies, fanned by Randolph's idealism, are the core of the National Council for a Permanent FEPC, co-chaired by Allan Knight Chalmers and Randolph. Randolph's leadership won for him the NAACP's Spingarn medal in 1942, and in 1944 the Workers Defense League's Clendenin Award. A tribute to his leadership was the establishment of the A. Philip Randolph Educational Fund, to provide means for the use of educational techniques to promote better race relations.

Those who wish to understand trade unionism and its problems can learn a great deal from Dr. Brazeal's book. Those who wish to understand race relations problems will get more information that is accurate and to the point than from most books on the subject. And those who wish to know why A. Philip Randolph is called by Edwin Embree of the Rosenwald Fund "St. Philip of the Pullman Porters" can learn the answer by studying Dr. Brazeal's figures of the vast economic gains made by Pullman porters under Randolph's leadership.

MORRIS MILGRAM

Recent Pamphlets

A Pacifist Look at Prison

We, the Offenders, by Arle Brooks. American Friends Service Committee. 28 pp. 15c a copy; 10c each in lots of 10 or more.

A thoughtful, intelligent study of crime and punishment in our society by a man who has served two terms as a conscientious objector and who worked for the AFSC as Secretary of its Prison Service Committee, spending most of his time visiting men in prison. The author examines the cultural pattern which stands behind the criminal and our attitude toward him; the practice of confinement, with a statistical analysis of the crimes for which people are confined (96% for crimes against property, many for non-payment of fines, which in effect is imprisonment for debt); the efficacy of imprisonment as a means of reformation, keeping in mind that the roots of the crime lie in society itself, and that we are *all* involved. The practice of lay service to prisoners is taken up at considerable length, and a number of sound suggestions made to people who are interested in such work.

The pamphlet closes with a brief section giving an intimation of the way in which we must go to achieve a point of view on this subject which transcends our conditioned reflexes to "crime." The pamphlet is generously larded with quotations from works in the field, and contains an excellent bibliography.

The Mechanics of Peace

Road to Peace: A Study in Functional International Organization, by Harrop A. Freeman and Theodore Paullin. Pacifist Research Bureau. 62 pp. 50c.

To be reviewed.

A Working Peace System, by David Mitrany. National Peace Council (Brit.) 64 pp. 50c.

This is the Fourth Edition of a pamphlet originally published in 1943. It is an intelligent and thoughtful analysis which has received much well-deserved attention. This edition contains an eight-page introduction written especially for it, to take account of the changes which had occurred since its original publication. The body of the work, however, remains current, an important word on one of the most urgent and important subjects of our day.

The Struggle for Atomic Control, by William T. R. Fox. Public Affairs, in cooperation with the National Committee on Atomic Information. 32 pp. 20c.

Beginning with a brief, clear explanation of what the bomb is and what its possibilities are, this pamphlet goes on to explain and summarize the plans for international control of atomic energy which have been put forward, with special attention given to those of the United States and Soviet Russia. It tells what has so far been accomplished, and what the problems are that face the nations, analyzing the Acheson-Lilienthal report, the Baruch report, the Wallace-Baruch controversy and other contributions to the problem and its solution. An objective and intelligent collection of information. Anyone who is confused about where the nations stand and whether anything has been accomplished so far or is likely to be accomplished should read this pamphlet. Bibliography for further study is included.

Tragedy on the March

The Land of the Dead. Committee Against Mass Expulsions. 32 pp. 25c.

Sponsored by Roger Baldwin, John Dewey, Dean Christian Gauss, John Haynes Holmes, Dorothy Thompson, and others of like caliber, this pamphlet gives the horrifying picture of the mass movements of populations being forcibly carried out in Europe at staggering costs in human life and welfare. Fully documented from neutral and even hostile sources, the pamphlet shows that, besides the dreadful hardships endured, some 4.8 million people have been unaccountably "lost"—almost as many as perished in Nazi concentration camps. It may be presumed that a very large percentage of these have been put to death or have died of hunger and cold. Anne O'Hare McCormick, *New York Times* columnist and a trained and scrupulous observer, wrote: "The scale of this resettlement and the conditions in which it takes place are without precedent in history. No one seeing its horrors first-hand can doubt that it is a crime against humanity for which history will exact a terrible retribution." Pacifists cannot fail to respond to this appeal.

The Psychology of Peace

War and Human Nature, by Sylvanus M. Duvall. Public Affairs. 32 pp. 20c.

Challenging the belief that there will always be war because it is human nature to fight, Dr. Duvall declares that "we could, by proper and intelligent control, make peace as natural as war." Beginning with the premise that the first essential for world peace is an understanding of human nature and its relationship to war and peace, the author says that peace groups and peace plans have failed in the past through lack of such understanding. People become aggressive when they are bewildered, confused, uncertain or insecure, or when they are frustrated, and this feeling develops or is developed into a warlike sentiment in a nation. The author suggests how to go about solving the problem of these inner conflicts. A balanced, objective and easily understandable discussion of an aspect of the problem of peace about which too many pacifists are not well-informed.

CONSTANCE MUSTE

WHY A CHRISTIAN
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Pro and Con

Felix Greene: Pro . . .

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

May I thank Felix Greene, through your magazine, for his superb message to pacifists. It is seldom I am able to agree wholeheartedly with FELLOWSHIP contributors. They are either completely naive about the relevance between politics and the kind of society in which we live, or their religious fervor causes them to ignore politics entirely. His is a well-considered philosophy, and his warning badly needed. Not that I expect it to exert any noticeable influence, but it is to be hoped there are a few Fellowship members like myself, who will appreciate the profundity of his approach to pacifism.

JO CANTINE,
Woodstock, N. Y.

. . . Felix Greene expresses well what a good many of us have been feeling. We are alarmed by the trend in FOR toward making it a political pressure group. Politics is a very minor force in reconciliation and more often than not is a divisive rather than a reconciling procedure. . . . We wish that the resources of FOR and the time of its executives were given more to the deeper issues and less to the spectacular and dramatic in Congressional lobbying.

CAROLUS P. HARRY,
Philadelphia, Pa.

. . . Even though I don't agree entirely with Felix Greene's article—specifically, the belief that one shouldn't even put his stand against conscription, etc. into letters to representatives—I want to thank you for publishing it. I think his main thesis —"reform within," etc., is the sort that FELLOWSHIP should plug away at more than it does.

GORDON NUGENT,
Ardsley, N. Y.

. . . Read *Subheads* in FELLOWSHIP any month and you understand what Felix Greene means when he states: "The pacifist fellowship is no longer a buoyant movement of the spirit. For all its utterances and warnings and public defiances, the note it sounds is weak and anemic or is it, perhaps, a little frightened?"

"Politics and Passivism" was a refreshing reminder of a *very* small group who saved the world by changing hearts.

GLADYS REES JONES,
Nashville, Tenn.

. . . "Politics and Passivism" hits the nail on the head. We pacifists are failing in our mission because we simply are not spiritual enough. We try to do too much and think too much from the realm of the intellect, and, as Mr. Greene states, to solve problems "within the realm of the conflict." The Truth is what we should be seeking, for it is the Truth that truly reconciles. Are we fulfilling our mission of reconciliation or are we simply resisting militarism? Are we merely conscientious objectors or are we conscientious demonstrators of a better way of life? Not what are our theories, but what do we actually offer? How much do our personal lives bear witness to the power of God?

STANLEY G. JACOBS,
Toledo, Ohio

. . . Your May issue is superb because it recognizes that the reform for which we work and pray is primarily an inward cause of far greater concern than political approaches. A number of us have been hoping for this higher level in our FOR magazine for some time. You have reached it now and I am sure will seek to stay on that plane evermore. Muriel Lester, too, has been helping to get all of us back to first principles. The truth of the matter is that very few of us have yet reached the inner clarity which makes us fit to work in the outward turmoil.

HARRIET NUGENT,
Chicago, Ill.

. . . and Con

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

I found "Politics and Passivism" both thought-provoking and annoying: thought-provoking, because the principles on which [the author] bases his thesis are sound; annoying, because I believe his conclusions illogical.

I quite agree that our movement is all too lacking in that buoyant optimism which cannot be shaken by the seeming victory of evil forces. It is further true that our organization will become top-heavy if we fail to sink our roots into the bedrock foundation that is found in the fellowship of the tiny cell. But won't that fellowship become sterile if it doesn't find expression in activity born of a vital interest in the welfare of our brothers the world over? To me, a vital side of that activity is political. . . .

I don't pretend that politics alone can ever solve a problem. But Canadian experience has convinced me that it can help. In the one province where the CCF party holds power, it has done more to facilitate Christian living for the average citizen than any previous government in Canadian history. The foundations of the CCF were laid by Mr. J. S. Woodsworth, a strong Christian pacifist! I would urge my fellow pacifists in the United States to follow that example.

DONALD M. EWING,
Sault Ste. Marie Ontario, Canada

. . . The power today assumed by government over the life of every individual makes ignoring it impossible. We must accept or protest. As some of us see it, to remain silent and unresisting is to accept. There is nothing "anemic or frightened" in the conviction of the religious pacifist who returns his draft card or makes other protests. Imprisonment or other punishment is not easy. Nor is his witness for love and forbearance less strong for his action. Military conscription, and other coercive measures by government for practices against which our conscience rebels, stifle the free spirit of love and everything else good and free in the world. And in time that evil coercion will kill the spirit, for a conscience too long ignored dies.

Jesus was kind and very patient. However, he was the slave of no evil power, and on occasion rebuked evil in no uncertain terms. Would he have us unresisting in the face of it?

JANET MCMILLAN,
Newark, N. J.

. . . Felix Greene's "Politics and Passivism" is a thoughtful and sound warning, but I would like to warn against it as being too one-sided. I heartily agree that far too often too many of us agitate, protest, demonstrate, and argue without the spirit of God within us. We don't balance our activities with spiritual meditation and insight.

But neither should we spend all our time trying to purify our souls, trying to keep ourselves in the highest of levels while all others except those who are looking after their souls are ignored.

We should try to know God and get to know his will for us. He won't lead us all into the same task with the same methods, but I feel sure that he will lead many of us into more action and conflict with evil than Felix Greene thinks we should have—not for the sake of conflict, but because conflict is there and we will go straight into it if we are to do the tasks we are meant to do.

JOE ALTER,
Philadelphia, Pa.

. . . We *are* our brothers' keepers whether we like it or not! So, let us withdraw from the field of politics so far as the adoption of evil methods is concerned, but let us never abandon a positive approach through statesmanlike action. It is our duty to those persons who have not found the inner peace which is the ultimate answer.

BETTY JEAN WALKER,
Ames, Iowa

A PAGE OF COMMENT BY READERS

Readers are invited to contribute to this page. Please keep letters brief, since space is severely limited.

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